1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

galɔ'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly distinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galɔ'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well.

After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack declared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

> The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.
>
> As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.
>
> The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwe'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 f.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another, not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instrument. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

MARRIAGE

About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted during the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

[221] The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

[785] The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that [574] it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. [415] The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and [412] roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways [846] —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[262] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women [222] ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was pouted on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approximately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were dressed alike.

Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others continued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

881
171

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMO

Traits*
present
absent

	North-East California H. E. Driver 6; 2, 1941	*North-West California* H. E. Driver 1; 6, 1939 (tribes not listed separately)		*South Sierra Nevada* H. E. Driver 1; 2, 1937 (tribes not listed separately)	
				Yokuts, Mono	Ute, Kern River, Panamint Owens Valley, Paiute
		some	some	some	some
Public Recognition	+	+	–	+	–
In dwelling	+	+	–		
Outdoors	+	+	–	+	–
Night		+	–	+	–
For all girls		+	–	+	–
Certain girls only					
For one girl at time		+	–	+	–
Rite conducted by chief				+	–
Duration					
1 day or less number of days		1 to 10		+	–
Singing	+				
Singers paid or given gifts	+				
Singing, no dancing		+	–		–
Feast for all	+	+	–	+	–
Dancing		+	–	+	–
Group dancing	+	+	–		
Men dance	+				
Women dance	+				
Each sex separately	+				
Both sexes together	+	+	–	+	–
Dancers in circle	+	+	–	+	–
Dancers abreast in line	+	+	–		
Girl dances	+	+	–	+	–
1 or 2 persons support girl	+	+	–		
Hood rattle	+				
Split-stick rattle	+	+	–		
Cocoon rattle				+	–
Gourd rattle				+	–
Girl ceremonially washed		+	–	+	–
Girl ceremonially painted		+	–	+	–
Girl ceremonially tattooed				+	–
3 days in roasting pit					
Trench at girl's rite					
Sexual license	+				

[533]
[535]
[534]

*Trait list is taken from the Culture Element Distribution lists of the University of California Anthropological P

CARTWRIGHT: *Washo Puberty Ceremony* 1/1

881
171

IES—CALIFORNIA TRIBES, WASHO, PAIUTE, SHOSHONE

Central Sierra B. W. Aginsky 8: 4, 1943 (tribes not listed separately) Mono, Yokuts, Miwok		*Central California Coast* J. P. Harrington 7: 1, 1942 (tribes not listed separately)	*South California* Philip Drucker 1: 1, 1937 (tribes not listed separately. All trait not listed)		*North-East California* E. W. Voegelin 7: 2, 1942 (tribes not listed separately. All traits not listed)		*Washo* This paper	*Washo* O. C. Stewart 4: 3, 1941 (see text this paper also)
some	some		some	some	some	some		
+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
+	–		+	–	+	–	+	+
+	–		+	–	+	–		
+	–		+	–	+	–	+	+
+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
+	–		1–30		1–30			
+	–		+	–	+	+	+	
		+	+	–	+	–		
+	–				+	–	+	
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+	–				+	–	+	
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+	–		+	–	+	–	+	+
+	–		+	–			+	
+	–		+	–				
		+	1–30					
		+						

...rwth. All publications are also from this series, with the exception of the single Washo list, which is from this paper.

1/1 [The legend for this table will be found on previous page, cat. 116, p. 138 -- Analyst]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pinon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

CARTWRIGHT: *Washo Puberty Ceremony*

pared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers.

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Brengle as witnessed by her in 1929–30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[3] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special dance held at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl eats nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighbouring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[2] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[2] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably done over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her home.

Table 1 shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many

[See category IIb, pp. 138 - 139 - Analyst] 141

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

881 171 similar traits already noted, it might indicate that the Washo were in the past a California tribe, coming from that area at some early time, settling close to the Great Basin tribes, and taking over from them many of their culture traits, particularly those relating to the procurement of food.

NOTES

113 [1] Barrett, S. A. *The Washo Indians*, Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1917), pp. 1–52.

[2] Kroeber, A. L. *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1925. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78.

[3] Lowie, Robert H. *Ethnographic Notes on the Washo*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, Berkeley, 1939.

[4] Driver, Harold E. *Culture Element Distributions, XVI. Girls' Puberty Rites in Western North America*, University of California Anthropological Records, Berkeley, 6, No. 2, 1941, pp. 21–90.

[5] Stewart, Omer C. *Culture Element Distributions. XIV. Northern Paiute*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 3, 1941, pp. 361–446.

[6] Steward, Julian H. *Culture Element Distributions. XIII. Nevada Shoshone*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 2, 1941, pp. 209–359.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

843
[845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

852

When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

881
[178]

Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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[178]

Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

[302]
[784]
[182]

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The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

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[115]

The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

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[271] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat [262] meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the [263] same as meat."

[124] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. [262] In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One inform- [202] ant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing [778] and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill [178] nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure [824] the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, [782] and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the [431] morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown [178] into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few [302] dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a pu-
178 berty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the [574] feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 376, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-306).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting [177] are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 [535] [871] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 388-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

[P. 399, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[178] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground
[648] squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the white men stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative--a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
[226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.

584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[791] married couples to be good to each other and not
[581] fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing
[881] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't
[582] listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
825 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
789 who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered ex-
[525] tremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minister, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion ra-
[178] ther than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
[177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P.384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832] cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302 796 ● [881] Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the

825 789 778 skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

763 825 The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 668 182 The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764] [782]

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

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A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

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According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

Girl's Puberty Dance

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The girl's puberty dance (ʔe?wé we?) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 410) says she used a scratching stick for a month

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[777] and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
[224] contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

[535] On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
[574] friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a
[787] mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
[856] were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
[824] climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

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[526] After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
[778] foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
[533] signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed. [868] [777]

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Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses.

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The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the

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10 to 19 age group who had attained the menarche had been given a dance. In addition, several mothers with girls between the ages of 11 and 13 told us they planned to give their daughters a dance when they came of age.

Table 1

Occurrence of Girl's Puberty Dance among
38 Washo Women by Age

Age Group	Number	Given Dance	No Dance	No Information
10-19	9	8	1	
20-29	7	3	1	3
30-39	3	2		1
40-49	8	4	2	2
50-59	4	3		1
60-69	2	2		
70-79	3	1	1	1
80-89	2			2
TOTAL	38	23	5	10

The modern girl's puberty dance closely resembles the aboriginal rite. All of the basic elements have been retained: the beliefs that the girl is shaping her future life and that she is supernaturally potent and must not touch men; the four days of fasting; the constant activity; the prohibition on eating meat, grease or salt; the climbing of the mountain and the building of the fires; the symbolism of the pole; the ceremonial race; the dance; the painting; the bathing; the giving away of baskets; and the feasting.

The changes appear relatively minor. The girl no longer climbs a mountain to build the fires but rather a small hill barren of trees. The Washo say that this is because of the danger of starting a forest fire on the heavily wooded mountains. After the race to the bottom of the hill, the girl is met by a relative in an automobile and is driven to the dancing area. Sometimes food is served at midnight as well as at the conclusion of the dancing at dawn; and some of the people drink alcoholic beverages during the dancing. The girl is bathed in her slip or in her brassiere and panties rather than in the aboriginal apron. Rabbit and deer meat are served if available, but hamburger is substituted if they are not. The prohibition against meat, grease and salt is maintained for only two weeks instead of a month. The scratching stick and the prohibitions against the girl's combing her hair and eating fish seem to have been abandoned. Cartwright (1955, 140) states that the painting ceremony ends with the girl's running to the nearest river and washing the paint from her body.

In the modern ceremony, more emphasis seems to be placed upon the giving of gifts than in the aboriginal one. Other presents in addition to baskets are thrown into the crowd after the dance. Cartwright reports that $75.00 worth of gifts was given away at a puberty dance held for a girl's second menses in either 1929 or 1930. The Washo are not well-to-do and the expense of the puberty ceremony may be one of the reasons the second dance is rarely held. Only a few of the 28 women who had dances reported being given a second dance.

The survival of the dance is probably partly due to the associations the women have attached to it. The older women look back upon the occasion with fondness, and many of these women have sponsored dances for their daughters and granddaughters. The younger women do not always regard the dance as a pleasant occasion. One girl of 18 said she didn't want her dance. "The boys wouldn't talk to the girl before the dance, and I couldn't dance with the boys or touch them." Another young girl said that she was embarrassed "because in the morning at sunrise, I was bathed before everyone wearing only a slip and panties." The girl added, however, that her family invited many friends and relatives and while she was embarrassed at the bathing, she enjoyed having a large party given for her. Another young girl mentioned the big party at her dance. A woman of 27 didn't like the dance because of the bathing in her underslip.

The taboos are a feature of the dance that do not appeal to the young women. One girl did not keep the taboos during her first menses and said, with reference to her dance, "They call it a dance for the girl. I had it in Dresslerville in the summer. I didn't care for it, but every girl goes through it. They make you go without eating except for tea and water. Then at the

881 178 dance they mix food with sagebrush and you spit it out. You wear a slip and they dump water on you early in the morning." Her mother talked to her about the dance and said they have it because the Indians always had it.

In summary, the women under 30 mentioned the embarrassment of bathing and the taboos as unpleasant; but they enjoyed the prestige of a big party. Another unpleasant feature mentioned by Holbrook was the teasing the girls undergo at school, for their fasting and the preparations for the dance announce their condition to all. However, the youngsters themselves made no mention of this. The women 30 and over referred to the dance as a pleasant occurrence in their lives and as an event that was expected in the life of every girl. It seems likely that a woman's memories of the dance become more pleasant as she grows older. Since it is the older women who sponsor the puberty dance, its survival seems assured for the immediate future.

Ceremonies at Death

764 Funeral rites were not elaborate. The dead were formerly cremated, according to Curtis, Barrett and Lowie. When Lowie and Barrett studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Stewart's informants reported only burial. Hank Pete volunteered the information that the dead were never cremated, but we believe this indicates only that the early settlers and missionaries had frowned so severely on cremation that the Washo had abandoned it and were reluctant to talk about it. At the funeral an old person of either sex stepped forward and made a speech instructing the ghost of the dead to stay away and not bother the living. The relatives cried and wailed continually and were joined in this lamenting by other spectators. Holbrook considers the amount of crying in Washo funerals uite noteworthy, apparently in contrast to white funerals. Lowie (1939, 310) says that the corpse was cremated on a 765 pile of sagebrush with the mourners crying and dancing around the fire. The bones were picked up and put in a creek. The mourners cried continually for three months and did not wash their faces for a year. One of Lowie's informants said there was no hair cutting and another said that old people cut their hair as close as possible. Stewart reports that the mourners didn't wash, abstained from gambling, cut their hair, and didn't remarry for one year. 764 The period of mourning terminated with a bath. Lowie says that the house of [768] the deceased was abandoned, some of his property hidden, and some burned with him. Curtis (1926, 97) says the deceased was cremated by burning his house.

764 The modern Washo bury their dead. The mourners cry and wail as 178 formerly, and an old person still makes a funeral speech. The personal [768] property of the deceased is buried with him and his house is abandoned. The

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
758 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through
a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman
[177] (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent re-
[262] vival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony. Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The cere-
monies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant.".

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Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.
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[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. [178] The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (bā·du? čûnu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (?uwí·yn) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

881 On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, [202] sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a sym- [574] bol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was invited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

881 By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area.
535 The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women
[778] in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

881 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had
533 no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up
535 the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔówlʸyáʷkiʔi, ʔimlíʷhóʷʔiya, nélonáne, and héyaya.

881 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman
535 of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéheʔ -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wéʔwe?, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked [178] fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. [562] Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women.

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose.

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women.

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (le ʔwē ʔwe ʔ) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to

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[579] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[462] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyíšu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

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302 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
782 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer appropriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

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[515] After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1854) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939, 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[824] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is con-
[431] cealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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178 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
821 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
525 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (selíli, "to drag the
624 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
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881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days
[431] later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí·ya, melehéhe? and (ɬtwá?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (ʔeʔwéʔweʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:30 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

881
224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been important as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crisis rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.
[178]

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

NWA 855

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Tr	Ai	Ar	Ka	Yo	Yo	Pa	Ma	At	Ba	Tu	Wa	Ki	Ar
	Loss of Milk Teeth														
2296a.	Milk teeth thrown any direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2296.	Thrown toward west	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2296a. Toward north	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2297.	Thrown over shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2300.	Thrown under green bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2300a. Child jumps over bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2301.	Teeth buried under green bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GIRL'S PUBERTY														
	2302. First Menstruation (menstruemai)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2305.	Observance for each girl alone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2306.	Confinement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2307.	5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2307a. 30 days ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2308.	In family house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2309.	In special house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2310.	Behind home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2313.	Girl attended	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2314.	By mother	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2315.	By any female relative	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2316.	By any woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2317.	Attendant combs girl's hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2318.	Girl instructed about conduct	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2319.	Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2319a. "Month" or "4 weeks"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2320.	Fish forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2321.	Salt forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2322.	Cold water forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2323.	Talking forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2324.	Laughing forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2325.	Being visited forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2327.	Scratching self with fingers forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2328.	Combing hair forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2329.	Girl must arise early	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2330.	Run daily	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2330a. Run once in special ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2331.	Carry firewood	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2332.	Work hard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2334.	Wear basket hat outside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2335.	Use scratching stick, 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2335a. "Month"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2336.	Use drinking tube	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2336a. Use special cup	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2337.	Avoid hunters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2337a. Avoid gamblers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2339.	Avoid sick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2339.	Avoid all people	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340.	Bathe daily	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2340a. Every 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2342.	At end of confinement girl bathes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2343.	Hair cut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2344.	Girl painted red	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2345.	Clothes destroyed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2346.	Clothes kept for future menses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2347.	New clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2348.	Unbraiding by mother	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2349.	Unbraiding by attendant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2350.	Girl wears sage leggings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

NWA 831 [302]

[p. 410]

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 881

NWA 841

NWA 881

NWA 764

NWA [767]

	Ts	Kl	Kt	Kn	To	Yo	Pe	Mo	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
2361. Scratching stick of wood	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
2362. Single	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
MENSTRUATION (emmadrevai)														
2364. Seclusion	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2365. 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2366. Until flow stops	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2367. Special house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2368. Attendant: grandmother	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2369. Women forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2369a. 4 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2371. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2372. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2373. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2375. Cooking forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2376. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2377. Scratching self forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2378. Women must: use scratching stick 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2379. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2380. Avoid sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2381. Avoid dances	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2382. Avoid hunters	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2382a. Avoid gamblers	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2383. Husband forbidden to hunt	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2384. Fishing forbidden	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2385. Gambling forbidden	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2386. Sweat bath forbidden	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2387. Husband must build new fire in home	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2388. Husband must hunt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BOY'S PUBERTY (See also 369-374.)														
2389. Confinement 6 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2390. Head scratcher used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2391. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2392. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2393. Father talks for hunting luck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2394. Mother washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2394a. Father washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2395. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2396. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DEATH CUSTOMS														
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2395. Trunks of dead covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2395a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p.411]